IMT Nuremberg Archives

H – 1029

International Court of Justice

H1029 - 0002

11:30 - 1300

OFFICIAL TRANSCRIPT OF TESTIMONY FOR THE DEFENSE OF ORGANIZATIONS, TAKEN BEFORE A COMMISSION APPOINTED BY THE INTERNATIONAL MILITARY TRIBUNAL PURSUANT TO PARAGRAPH 4 OF THE ORDER OF THE TRIBUNAL DATED 13 MARCH 1946.

17 JULY 1946

COMMISSIONER:

Mr. George R. Taylor

STAHLHELM SA

(The Commission convened at 1145 hours.)

OTTO FREIHERR VON WALDENFELS, a witness, took the stand and testified as follows:

MR. TAYLOR: Will the witness state his name to the court reporter?

THE WITNESS: Otto Freiherr Von Waldenfels.

MR. TAYLOR: The witness will raise his right hand and be sworn.

I swear by God, the Almighty and Omniscent, that I will speak the pure truth and will withhold and add nothing.

(The witness repeated the oath)

MR. TAYLOR: The witness will be seated. Proceed with the examination of the witness.

BY DR. THEODORE KLEFISH (Defense Counsel for the Stahlhelm SA)

Q. Your age and profession please.

A. I was born on the 10th of August 1889. I was an (Oberarchivrat) Senior Archives Councellor.

Q. Your residence?

A. Munich Pasin. Elizabethenstrasse 1.

Q., Were you a member of the Party or any of its organization?

A. No.

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Q. What was your function in the Stahlhelm?

A. At first I was Obergruppenfuehrer, later on I was so-called Battalion Leader, then I was of the Landes Association Hackland, lastly, until the dissolution of the Stahlhelm, I was leader of the Landes Association Bayern which included the Landes Association Bavaria-Hockland, Franken, and Bavarian Ostmark.

Q. Who was the Bundes Leader of the Stahlhelm?

A. The Stahlhelm had two Bundes leaders, Seldte and Dusterberg.

Q. How strong was the Stahlhelm at the time of the seizure of power?

A. Approximately one and one-half million members.

Q. What was its structure and give us its individual organization?

A. It was organized into the Scharnhorst which included the younger generation up to 16 years of age, the Jungstahlhelm from the 16th to the 22nd year, the Wehr Stahlhelm or rather Sport Formation from the 22nd to the 34th year, then the Hernstahlhelm former front soldiers beginning with the 34th year.

Q. What was the constitution of the Stahlhelm?

A. The constitution included the two Bundesfuehrer, the Bundesfuehrer council which consisted of the two Bundesfuehrer and a number of Landesfuehrer, and the entire membership meeting of the enture Bund. It was a democratic constitution.

Q. What was its purpose and its task?

A. The inter-political tasks of the Stahlhelm was to make Germany into what it was before the world war, a mighty strong state. Furthermore the war comradship derived from the war experience, was to extend it within the Stahlhelm and outside of it over the whole German people.

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17 July 1130-1300
Waldensels

Q. What was the attitude of the Stahlhelm toward war?

A. Most of the Stahlhelm members had been in the war and experienced the terrors of war, consequently they rejected any new war. Consequently I gladly received a declaration of Hitler made on the 23rd of January 1934 before the leader of the Stahlhelm which contained the statement that a generation which has participated in war already could not possibly be expected to participate in a second one.

Q. What was the attitude of the Stahlhelm toward the Treaty of Versailles?

A. The Stahlhelm considered this treaty a ~~XXXX~~ wrong which was done to Germany and by contact with the front fighters of other nations it intended to achieve the cancellation of the Treaty in the form in which it was existing at the time. Every Stahlhelm member considered a cancellation of the Versailles Treaty by use of force if a possibility.

Q. Did the Stahlhelm continuously have contacts with foreign front soldier associations AT the time before the out-break of the war?

A. Yes. The Stahlhelm was until it was dissolved in November 1935.

Q. What associations?

A. Contacts were established with French, English and Russian front fighter associations.

Q. What was the purpose of these contacts?

A. What we wanted was this. The comradeship concept which emanated from the world war among the soldiers of different nations, particularly where business of war was concerned, this comradeship idea was to be propagated among all nations.

Q. Wasn't the pacification and friendship among nations the purpose of this contact?

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A. That would have been the immediate consequense of the contact between the different front fighter associations in the different countries.

Q. Did the Stahlhelm have any military activities, for instance did it give any military training?

A. The Stahlhelm never had any military activities. We leaders of the Stahlhelm who used to be to the greatest part, former officers, knew how to draw the line between military training and the Wehr sport training which was what members of the Stahlhelm received. Furthermore, the Stahlhelm Bundesfuehrer strongly prohibited several times any military training. I never would have been able to accept the responsibility for my comrades being sent to war with Wehr sport training.

Q. What happened to the Stahlhelm immediately after the seizure of power by the NSDAP? May I ask you a further question? When was the Stahlhelm made subordinate to the Supreme SA leadership?

A. On 27 June 1933 the Stahlhelm was made subordinate to the supreme leadership of the SA, after Seldte had taken over the dictatorial leadership which went against the constitution // at the end of April 1933.

Q. Did Seldte dismiss the second Fuehrer Dusterberg on 27 April 1933 and why did he dismiss him?

A. Dusterberg was dismissed by Seldte because he knew, without doubt, that Dusterberg would not agree to the delivery of the Stahlhelm into the hands of the SA and the Party.

Q. What was the reaction of the Stahlhelm membership to the association of dictatorial power by Seldte and the dismissal of Dusterbberg?

A. The dismissal of Dusterberg, brought forth a reaction of immense annoyance and disgust.

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Q. How about the assumption of dictatorial powers?

A. The assumption of the dictatorial powers in no way corresponded ~~the~~ to the directives observed by the Stahlhelm Bund until then.

Q. You stated that previously that the Stahlhelm was made subordinate to the supreme SA leadership on 27 June 1933.

A. Yes.

Q. Where did these directives or this order emanate from?

A. The order emanated directly from Hitler.

Q. What was the contents of this order?

A. The Stahlhelm was to be put in its totality under the command of the supreme SA leader, that is to say, it came dictatorily under the SA.

Q. Are you acquainted with another second later order of the same contents?

A. On 4 July after the so-called Reichenhaller leader conference, Hitler issued another order which contained the specific directives signed by Chief of Staff Rahn. This demanded the complete insertion of Jungstahlhelm and Wehrstahlhelm and the sport formation into the SA.

Q. When did the technical transfer of the Wehr Stahlhelm take place in your Landes District?

A. The transfer of the Jungstahlhelm and the Sport Formation took place at the end of September and during October 1933.

Q. Jungstahlhelm and Sport Formation were characterized as Wehr Stahlhelm?

A. COLONEL GRIFFITH JONES: Let us get this correct. The Jungstahlheml and the Sports Formation together are called Wehr Stahlhelm?

A. Yes in the words they were called that.

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BY DR. KELFISH:

Q. And this Wehr Stahlhelm included the members of the Stahlhelm up to which age?

A. Up to the 35th year

Q. Members of the Stahlhelm and you yourself, in particular, did you approve of this transfer of the Wehr ~~Stahl~~ Stahlhelm to the SA?

A. Neither myself nor my comrades enjoyed this transfer. There were violent arguments with the SA Gruppenfuehrer pertaining to the way in which the transfer was handled. Neither myself nor my comrades could do anything against this order

Q. What were the exterior signs of this transfer?

A. ~~Neither the~~ Now the comrades all were in the SA and they couldn't get out of the SA in any way at all except by a very difficult procedure.

Q. The single members of the Wehr Stahlhelm, were they asked?

A. Not a single member was asked because he was transferred by order.

Q. Did the Stahlhelm receive a promise that after its transfer it would retain a certain amount of autonomy and certain ones of its leaders?

A. The promise was made that the comrades would retain the autonomy of their formations and that they would remain under their leaders. But that is what my fights with the Gruppenfuehrer were about since he did not want to keep these promises.

Q. Were they also promised permission to remain as members of the Stahlhelm Bund?

A. That promise was made in person. It was a matter of course.

Q. Were these promises kept?

A. By and by these promises were broken again and again.

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Q. Do you know whether the transfer in other Landes Associations of the ~~Kehrx Stahlhelm~~ Wehr Stahlhelm took place in the same way in which it took place in your Landes Association Hockland.?

A. Yes I know it quite definitely regarding the Landes Association Fuehrerkonferenz, the Landes Association Bavaria, Ostmark, and Wurttemberg.

Q. I now come to the transfer of the members of the Kernstahlhelm. Are those members of the Stahlhelm over 35?

A. The members of the Stahlhelm from 35 to 45 years of age were put together within the SA as SA Reserve I in November 1933.

Q. ~~Kkkxxxxx~~ Whose order was responsible for that?

A. That was by order of Roehm on the basis of the directives in June and July 1933.

Q. And where did the orders of June and July 1933 you just mentioned emanate from?

A. The original orders came from Hitler.

Q. Was there also an order to form an SA Reserve II?

A. There was supposed to be formed an SA Reserve II consisting of men above 45 but it never got farther than to register them.

Q. Now SA ReserveI was transferred into the SA?

A. Yes.

Q. When was it?

A. By order of Roehm 25 January 1934

Q. Did you attempt to discuss between Hitler and Roehm which took place at the Kaiserhof on the 22nd or 23rd of January 1934?

A. Yes. It wasn't at the conference, however, it was before the dinner that Roehm and Hitler had a discussion.

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Q. Did Roehm report to Hitler the already concluded transfer of Kernstahlhelm?

A. Yes. Roehm reported to Hitler the transfer of the Kernstahlhelm into the SA Reserve I within the SA.

Q. Did a special order of Hitler confirm this transfer?

A. On the 25th of January of the same year this order was put in writing and also its manner of execution.

Q. Did this order evoke the impression that the Kernstahlhelm already had been transferred into the SA?

A. Yes they concluded the transfer of the Kernstahlhelm into the SA. The rest were merely formalities by way of written orders.

Q. When did this formal insertion which is what I should like to call it, of the members of the Kernstahlhelm into the SA take place?

A. It took several months; from the end of February until the end of April.

Q. What were the exterior signs of this insertion?

A. In my Landes District Hockland, the order was executed according to the way Roehm had issued it. The members of the SA Reserve I from 35 to 45 years transferred into the SA.

Q. My question was made different. What I wanted to know was whether the members of the Kernstahlhelm were called up for a roll call and that then these people were told: "Now you are transferred".

A. Within my Landes Association there were different ways in which it was handled. Certain formations had a kind of an impressive transfer, others merely had a roll call and the order was read, but everybody knew from now on, I am in the SA.

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Q. Was anyone of the members of the Kernstahlhelm asked before whether he approved of the transfer?

A. True. I have discussed it with the comrades but nobody could do anything against this order.

Q. Did the comrades approve of this transfer? Did they like this transfer?

A. No one executed this order gladly. The comrades would have preferred to remain in the Stahlhelm.

Q. What was the mental attitude of the members of both the Wehr and the Kernstahlhelm toward the NSDAP after they were transferred?

A. These transferred comrades, of course, remained set in their secret opposition against the NSDAP and its claim to totality.

Q. Can you testify to that on the basis of your own observations or on the basis of discussions of certain other members?

A. I can testify to that on the basis of my own observations and also on the observations with a discussion of my comrades and into this war I have retained my connection with the comrades so that I am very well aware of their attitude and morale.

Q. Can you say anything about the Roehm Putsch. What was the attitude of the Stahlhelm group toward the Roehm Putsch?

A. On the afternoon before the actual Roehm Putsch took place on July of 1933 or 1934, I heard from a Stahlhelm comrade who had become a Reichswehr officer, ~~I heard from~~, that the SA had assembled at the Oberweisenfeld and that the Reichwehr had been put in a state of alarm from the archives. I immediately drove to the Landesleitung and I ordered state of alarm for the Stahlhelm Association.

Q. For what purpose?

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A. I immediately went to the commander of the Wehrkreis and I reported to him that I had put the Stahlhelm into a state of alarm and that I would put it at his disposal if necessary.

Q. A disposal against whom?

A. Against the SA of course. He expressed his appreciation saying that if necessary he would use it. It wasn't necessary because the Roehm Putsch ~~kam~~ itself took care of it.

Q. Can you confirm the fact that the Stahlhelm people who were transferred were on your side for that purpose at that time?

A. I have spoken to my comrades of the Wehr Stahlhelm or of the ~~Ses~~ Reserve I and they all said they would be fighting with me against the SA within the old Stahlhelm organization.

Q. Were members of both the Kernstahlhelm and the Wehr Stahlhelm assured that they would be permitted to retain a certain independence within the SA, that they would retain their uniforms and their old leaders?

A. The Stahlhelm comrades in the SA Reserve I were supposed to retain a certain autonomy up to the brigade formation, also up to the brigade formation they were to retain their old Fuehrer. That was the reason why the members of the Stahlhelm permitted themselves to be transferred. They said "We ~~they~~ will still remain the old Stahlhelm gang and we will even within the SA!"

Q. Didn't these assurances again show themselves to be defrauded very soon?

A. The same game the SA played with the Wehr Stahlhelm, ~~it~~ it played also with the SA Reserve I Kernstahlhelm.

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Q. Do you know anything at all about whether members of the Wehr Stahlhelm or Kernstahlhelm had participated in crimes against the peace, against humanity, especially Jewish persecution and war crimes?

A. I have never been aware of anything like that and after the training of the members of the Stahlhelm as a gentleman, something like that could not possibly have happened.

Q. Have you been aware of any members of the Stahlhelm having participated in the Jewish pogrom in November 1938?

A. I have never heard of it but I am firmly convinced that no member of the Stahlhelm had participated in such a thing.

Q. Weren't Jews also members of the Stahlhelm either permanently or intermittently?

A. If Jews had participated in the world war they could become members in the Stahlhelm without any further ado. The constitution wasn't against it. In my Ortsgruppe I had two or three comrades whose father and mother are Jewish.

Q. Wasn't the second German Duestenberg also half or quarter Jew?

A. The press wrote about that but we couldn't find out.

Q. The members of the Stahlhelm after they were transferred, did they consider themselves as Stahlhelm men or did they consider themselves a foreign aid with the SA?

A. The Stahlhelm members never felt themselves to be members of the SA. We the leaders, who did not transfer, did not want to feel themselves as SA men. We wanted them to remain Stahlhelm men.

Q. What was the attitude to and how did the SA men themselves treat the members of the Stahlhelm within the SA?

A. Mentally, the SA men rejected the members of the Stahlhelm, and as their leaders himself told me that he would prefer a communist to any Stahlhelm member.

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Q. Are you aware that the National Socialist press almost unanimously characterized the Stahlhelm, also those members within the SA, as a gathering place for enemies of the National Socialist system?

A. In all the years from 1933, 1934, and 1935, the National Socialist press did that and in 1935 did that for the reason for its dissolution.

Q. Do you know of numerous confiscations and arrests in Germany of Stahlhelm members and Stahlhelm formations in the years 1933, 1934 and 1935?

A. I am well aware of that. In many Landes Association, as well as in other Landes Associations, all these things took place.

Q. What was the reason for this arrest?

A. There were many reasons for these arrests, for instance, if an SA man attempted to get out of the SA he was simply arrested. I know of one member of the Stahlhelm in Nuremberg who wanted to put again intended to re-organ of the Stahlhelm here,
ize an Ortsgruppe again here and who was excluded from the SA and imprisoned for four weeks.

Q. Did you have any similar experiences due to not having gone into the SA?

A. When I heard in February 1935 that I was appointed SA Reserve Brigade Leader, I immediately applied for my resignation. I found that I was under police observation, and my telephone was checked, and my mail was read, and my family became excited, and all my acquaintances because they knew the police were watching.

Q. Was it possible for Stahlhelm members who were transferred into the SA to resign, or was it definite, and what danger would such a step imply?

A. If a member of the Stahlhelm was in the SA it was almost impossible for him to get out of it. Only if he suffered from some severe physical disability could he put in an application for his resignation, otherwise these

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applications were not dealt with at all; no attention was paid to them; they were simply thrown in the waste paper basket.

MR. TAYLOR: We will recess until 2 o'clock.

(The commission adjourned at 1300 hours).

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DIRECT EXAMINATION-Resumed
Otto Freiherr von Waldenfels - continued

(The Commission reconvened at 1408 Hours)

COMMISSIONER:

Igor Rasumov

* * * * * * * * * * * *

MR. RASUMOV: Will you please state your name?

THE WITNESS: Otto Freiherr von Waldenfels

MR. RASUMOV: Sit down, please. Will you continue your examination, Dr. Klefisch?

DIRECT EXAMINATION RESUMED

BY DR. KLEFISCH:

Q. You previously stated that applications for resignations could be put in only for very important reasons?

A. Yes.

Q. What happened to applications for resignations without such important reasons?

A. The applications were thrown in the wastepaper basket.

Q. Assuming someone insisted upon his intention to resign, what happened?

A. By far in the largest part of cases, the person concerned did not receive an honorable discharge, but was ~~being~~ excluded from the SA.

Q. And what was the consequences of such exclusion?

A. If an SA man, in particular ~~an~~ Stahlhelm member, was excluded from the SA, his personnel record, if he was a civil service employee, showed immediately in all his components that he had been excluded from the SA. He was put under police observation, and such a person couldn't get any sort of important position.

Q. Could you say anything about the SA Reserve #1, in later years, having been dissolved, and Stahlhelm members being transferred into the active SA?

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A. ~~XX~~ This was a matter of accident, because if his SA Reserve happened to diminish by an accidental factor to such an extent, than it was possible that without any further ado, he could have been put into an active SA-Sturm.

Q. Did these Reserve formations continue to exist in some or several districts until the end of the War?

A. As far as I have heard some of these Reserve formations existed until the end of the War?. Some of them were dissolved after the Roehm Putsch.

Q. What were the SA ranks of the Stahlhelm members, who were transferred into the SA?

A. On the basis of the agreement, they were supposed to have the same ranks in the SA, which they had in the Stahlhelm; however, in fact generally they received much lower ranks.

Q. Assuming that certain Stahlhelm members received higher ranks in the SA; for instance, Standartenfuehrer or Brigadefuehrer. Did they also fulfill the corresponding service functions?

A. No, generally the men who were supposed to lead the brigade, as it was provided for originally in my case,/~~XX~~ I was supposed to become Obersturmbannfuehrer. No, in general the situation was thus - that the Stahlhelm members simply were given the rank and no brigade or no standard was actually given to them to lead and they thought we would be satisfied with that.

MR. RASUMOV: What rank did the witness have?

THE WITNESS: I was to become Obersturmbannfuehrer, but I was to lead a brigade. I rejected that.

MR. RASUMOV: What did he reject?

THE WITNESS: To be transferred into the SA and the rank.

Q. It may be correct to say that as a rule only the old SA men had the functions of the higher ranks reserved for themselves?

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A. With very few exceptions, the higher ranks were given to the SA-Fuehrer, who came from the SA itself. I myself know only of the case of Juettner, Siebel, and Count Pueckler. Those, according to my knowledge, were the only Stahlhelm members who had higher ranks and simultaneously fulfilled higher functions.

Q. Last question. One witness is alleged to have said that generally the Stahlhelm members joined the SA gladly and voluntarily. What do you say to that?

A. If anyone makes a statement like that, it is falsification - simply falsification. Never did the Stahlhelm members gladly accept the transfer into the SA, because they were members of the Stahlhelm and wished to remain such. I know a young comrade - young man of 22 - in Munich who shot himself, because he was desparate, because he was not able to get out of the SA.

MR. RASUMOV: Why didn't they want to be transferred into the SA--the Stahlhelm?

THE WITNESS: Because training of the Stahlhelm was entirely different from that of the SA. This Stahlhelm, in particular, did not want to know anything about the totality of the SA.

Q. There is no doubt that some of them might have gone into the SA gladly - you won't argue that?

A. Quite the contrary. I knew very well that some of the others by reason of certain idealisms of the Party and SA gladly joined the SA. Others, however, there were only a few, expected to better the situation and expected to derive certain advantages from it. I have as former Landes leader of the Stahlhelm not the slightest interest in representing these gentlemen. However, my old comrades in the Stahlhelm that was a different matter.

Q. But you say that by far the greatest part of the Stahlhelm went into the SA under pressure and by compulsion and under deceit?

A. Yes.

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Q. Is that true also of the Wehrstahlhelm?

A. It is true of the Wehrstahlhelm, as well as of the older members.

DR. KLEFISCH: No further questions.

MR. RASUMOV: Col. Griffith Jones?

CROSS EXAMINATION

BY LT. COL. GRIFFITH JONES:

Q. I just want you to help me so I can be perfectly clear about the structure of the Stahlhelm. We have the Kernstahlhelm, whichI understand consisted of war soldiers over 34 years old - last War soldiers over 34 years old?

A. Yes.

Q. What was the strength of that Kernstahlhelm when it was taken over by the SA?

A. Approximately 450,000.

Q. Now that Kernstahlhelm was not part of the Wehrstahlhelm at all?

A. No. May I perhaps be permitted to repeat the structure. Jungstahlhelm plus sport formation equals Wehrstahlhelm up to 35th year.

Q. What happened to Jungstahlhelm and sport formations after they had reached the age of 35?

A. According to the directive they could go back again into the Kernstahlhelm, but if they were in the SA never permitted to get out of there.

Q. Now, in addition, therefore to the Kernstahlhelm and Wehrstahlhelm there was the Scharnhorst?

A. Scharnhorst were the young people who later on were to become Stahlhelm people.

Q. Now in 1933, can you tell me the number in the Scharnhorst, the Jungstahlhelm, and the sports formation?

A. Of course, I can't give to you exacatly for the Scharhorst, but I should think about a half million - that's my estimate. There is another half million

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for the Wehrstahlhelm members who were transferred into the SA.

Q. That being the members of the Jungstahlhelm and sports formation?

A. Yes, together.

Q. Were the members of the sports formation quite separate from the members of the Jungstahlhelm or did they overlap?

A. There was a matter of separation by age. The Jungstahlhelm people were up to 22, and they were apprentices in becoming Stahlhelm; whereas, the sports formation people were Stahlhelm men.

Q. Now, I want you to tell me about the SA as opposed to the Stahlhelm. Were the members of the Stahlhelm [redacted] opposed to the transfer to the SA partly because they disapproved of the SA as an organization?

A. The entire SA organization was found very unsympathetic by the Stahlhelm people. We wanted to be Stahlhelm people and not SA men.

Q. Yes. I appreciate that you wanted to remain Stahlhelm, but in addition to that [redacted] had you any other objections to the SA, either on account of its policy or its behavior or for any other reason?

A. That was a part of it. Even before the SA played an important roll, they were against the SA, which always wanted to be [redacted] a political organization and did not put so much weight on sports and things like that.

Q. Were there any particular actions or policies of the SA to which you took objection?

A. At that time, no doubt, not yet.

Q. When did you take objection to the SA on account of their policies or their actions?

A. The Stahlhelm as such not at all any more. I personally, of course, rejected the Jewish [redacted] problem situation.

Q. What part did the SA take in the Jewish problem? What was the part they played to which you objected personally?

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A. That the SA did not want to have anything to do with the Jews and wanted the Jews to be considered second class.

Q. But you said you objected to the policy or actions of the SA in respect to the Jews?

A. No doubt the comrades too, who were transferred into the SA, did not approve of such things.

MR. RASUMOV: The prosecution and I would like to know and for you to tell us what were the specific features of the SA, because of which the Stahlhelm was opposed to this. You don't answer directly to the question put by the prosecution.

A. In the years 1933 or before.

Q. Up until 1934?

MR. RASUMOV: What were the basic features - the most specific features?

A. The pure totality which SA party claimed for themselves that only they had the right to call themselves Germans and representing Germany.

Q. They were, were they not, and still dealing up to 1934, they behaved generally with considerable violence to anybody who was opposed to them during the years leading up to 1934?

A. Yes, no doubt.

Q. Was that consistently done and done throughout every district in Germany, throughout those years, violence against anybody who opposed them?

A. As far as I've heard, yes. The system was first sweets and then the whip.

MR. RASUMOV: That was a general policy of the SA?

THE WITNESS: Yes.

Q. And a general practice of its members?

A. Yes, that is the waythe Stahlhelm members felt.

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MR. RASUMOV: Do you know, witness, many people who got the sweets and the ~~xip~~ whip?

THE WITNESS: Our Stahlhelm comrades are the example for that. First they got a lot of promises and then the promises were not kept.

MR. RASUMOV: And what about the whip?

THE WITNESS: When they wanted to get out, they were either excluded entirely or not ~~xxx~~ permitted to leave.

Q. I want to ask you about after 1934 - after the Roehm Putsch. Did their practice and policy of violence continue?

A. Against the Stahlhelm - no doubt.

Q. Yes. I was dealing against not only the Stahlhelm, but against any opposition to their views within Germany?

A. The only important enemy, which after the Roehm Putsch, was still there in Germany, was just the Stahlhelm.

Q. There were also the Jews. Did the SA take an active part in the persecution of the Jews after 1934?

A. As far as I've been told stories - yes. I myself saw the looting of shops in Munich, but whether that was done by order or whether it originated with individuals, I cannot say.

Q. Can you give me any other examples of violence or looting or any other form of persecution, which you know of, committed by the SA against the Jews after ~~19~~ 1934?

A. I cannot at this time recall any case.

Q. Would it be right to say that generally speaking throughout those years, after 1934, the SA continued a systematic persecution of Jewish people in Germany?

A. I donot wish to say withour reservation of the SA. It was a Party as such.

Q. And the SA was, as the last witness describes it, an executive branch of the Party. You'll agree with ~~xxx~~ that?

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A. That is correct, but after the Roehm Putsch the outstanding significance whichit had before, had been lost completely. The people were afraid of the SS, but no longer of the SA.

Q. But in their less important roll, did they continue the policy and practice that they had been carrying out before the persecution of the Jews?

A. There is no doubt.

Q. One other former opposition which the Party had were the churches. Do you know of any incidents of the SA persecuting in any form the churches or members of the churches, or the clergy?

A. Myself I can't recall or observe anything like that while I was present. However, I heard of it - how true it is, I don't know.

Q. Now, one further matter I want to ask you about. You yourself were the senior archive councillor in Munich. Is that correct?

A. Yes, at that time I was archive councillor.

Q. And had you remained as such up until the end of the War?

A. In the year 1937, the Bavarian War Archives were taken over as the Army Archives in Munich.

Q. Were the positions that you were holding throughout those years up to the end of the year the positions of a civil servant?

A. I'm still working as a civil servant.

MR. RASUMOV: What is your position now?

THE WITNESS: Senior archive councillor.

Q. And throughout the whole of that time, you never became a member of the Party, and you never became a member of any Party organization?

A. No.

Q. Do you know of other civil servants who have retained their positions as civil servants without becoming members of the Party or any of its organizations?

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A. Here and there I know civil servants who worked, and who did not become Party members. In my archive it was too well known that I did not want to enter the Party, and my other comrades did not become Party members either.

COL. JONES: Thank you.

MR. RASUMOV: No further questions?

COL. JONES: No, sir.

MR. RASUMOV: Col. Orlow?

COL. ORLOW: No questions.

DR. KLEFISCH: Some very few questions.

RE-DIRECT EXAMINATION

BY DR. KLEFISCH:

Q. How many members did the Stahlhelm have at the beginning of 1934? May I put the question a little different. How many members did the Stahlhelm have at the time of the seizure of power?

A. Approximately a million and a half by estimate.

Q. You now said that a half million were taken over by the Hitler Youth who were in the Scharnhorst?

A. Idid not include Scharnhorst in the million and a half.

Q. One and half million without Scharnhorst?

A. Yes.

Q. Out of this million and a half, how many came into the SA by way of the Wehrmtahlhelm?

A. My estamate - 400,000 to 500,000.

Q. So there was one millien left. Out of that one million, how many went to the SA Reserve #1 from the Kernstahlhelm?

A. On the basis of a report, dated February 1934, 442,000.

Q. After February 1934, weren't there a great many of Stahlhelm people put additionally into the SA Reserve #1?

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A. I do not believe that this figure has been enlarged. Quite the contrary I should like that not even the whole 442,000 men were transferred.

Q. So that means probably that the 442,000 Stahlhelm members were registered?

A. Roehm asked for the report ~~xx~~ of those Stahlhelm members who were transferred into the SA.

Q. So there were still approximately a half million members of the Stahlhelm who were not transferred? Were those the Stahlhelm members above 45?

A. That is right. There were a half million left over 45, or physically disabled or War wounded.

Q. And these older Stahlhelm members - they were not transferred by order into the SA?

A. No.

Q. One last question. You stated that in your opinion the SA continued to participate in the persecution of the Jews and churches. Did you want to say that the SA, as an organization or the supreme leadership or the membership, or only individual members participated in that?

A. To begin with I want to say that this is only my private opinion. It is my opinion that individual SA men have committed accesses, but the great mass consisted of farmers and kind decent people.

BY LT. COL. GRIFFITH JONES:

~~Q~~ I wonder if I could ask one or two questions on these figures, only so that we do get it quite straight, because it wasn't altogether the same when Dr. ~~Kx~~ Klefisch asked him?

DR. KLEFISCH: Yes.

MR. RASUMOV: Yes.

Q. Witness, you told us that the Scharnhorst consisted of a half million.

A. Estimate.

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Q. And they went into the Hitler Youth?

A. They were transferred into the Hitler Youth.

DR. KLEFISCH: When?

THE WITNESS: In connection with the ~~mt~~ order the end of June or July 1933.

Q. But they have never had anything to do with the SA?

A. No, they never had - only the Hitler Youth.

Q. So that we can ignore it?

A. They got out altogether.

Q. You told us first of all that the Wehrstahlhelm had a half million, and that the Kernstahlhelm had a half million.

A. The SA Reserve #1 had a half million.

Q. I'm not talking about the SA Reserve. You did in answer to me a little time ago say that the Wehrstahlhelm were a half million strong, and the Kernstahlhelm, well in fact you gave 450,00 strong.

A. SA Reserve #1 was 442,000.

Q. That's what I wanted to clear up. So that the position is really this. That out of the Stahlhelm of all kinds you had 442,000 to go into the SA Reserve #1 from the Kernstahlhelm?

A. Estimate.

Q. And 500,000 from the Wehrstahlhelm into the SA proper?

A. Yes.

LT. COL. JONES: Thank you, sir.

MR. RASUMOV: I want to emphasize one more point. You did not answer in a proper way to the prosecution the following question. You told us that everybody knew that your being a civil servant, were not a Party member.

THE WITNESS: In my archive.

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MR. RASUMOV: The question is - do you know many persons who have been civil servants and at the same time were not Party members?

THE WITNESS: Not many.

MR. RASUMOV: Now could you tell me what were the consequences if a civil servant did not like to be transferred from the Stahlhelm to the SA?

THE WITNESS: Under certain circumstances, he could lose his position as a civil servant.

MR. RASUMOV: Under what circumstances?

THE WITNESS: It depended upon his superiors. My superior was a former officer, and he was not a Party member, and naturally no pressure was exerted upon me.

MR. RASUMOV: Was he a member of the Stahlhelm?

THE WITNESS: No.

MR. RASUMOV: Any further questions?

BY DR. KLEFISCH:

May I have only one question. Col. Griffith Jones rightly stressed the figures. We have heard that from the Wehrstahlhelm that 500,000 were transferred into the active SA and from the Kernstahlhelm 442,000 were transferred into the SA Reserve #1. So there was about a half million left which were not transferred into the SA. Mainly this half million consisted of the older Stahlhelm people above 45, and there was an order issued for these older Stahlhelm people to be transferred to the SA, so that on the basis of order those who were transferred into the SA were actually transferred then.

MR. RASUMOV: Col. Orlow, have you any questions?

COL. ORLOW: No further questions.

MR. RASUMOV: No further questions. The witness may be excused. There being no further witnesses the Commission will adjourn.

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Adjourned: 1510 hours.

Com. B.
Winkler
Take 3 - 13
17 July 1946
Waldenfels

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The foregoing is a true and correct transcript of the testimony of OTTO FREIHERR VON WALDENFELS, taken on 17 July 1946.

Marjorie A. Sweeney
Reporter (pp. 1-13)

Bernice Winkler
Reporter (pp. 14-25)

Reporter (pp.)

CERTIFIED TO:

Leo R. Taylor
Commissioner

Commissioner

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OFFICIAL TRANSCRIPT OF TESTIMONY FOR THE DEFENSE OF ORGANIZATIONS, TAKEN BEFORE A COMMISSION APPOINTED BY THE INTERNATIONAL MILITARY TRIBUNAL PURSUANT TO PARAGRAPH 4 OF THE ORDER OF THE TRIBUNAL DATED 13 MARCH 1946

COMMISSIONER:

Mr. George R. Taylor

STAHLHELM SA

(The Commission convened at 1145 hours.)

OTTO FREIHERR VON WALDENFELS, a witness, took the stand and testified as follows:

MR TAYLOR: Will the witness state his name to the court reporter?

THE WITNESS: Otto Freiherr von Waldenfels.

MR TAYLOR: The witness will raise his right hand and be sworn.

I swear by God, the Almighty and Omniscent, that I will speak the pure truth and will withold and add nothing.

(The witness repeated the oath.)

MR TAYLOR: The witness will be seated. Proceed with the examination of the witness.

BY DR. THEODORE KLEFISH (Defense Counsel for the Stahlhelm SA)

Q Your age and profession please.

A I was born on the 10the August 1889. I was an (Oberarchivrat) Senior Archives Councellor.

Q Your residence?

A Munich Pasin. Elizabethenstrasse 1.

Q Were you a member of the Party or any of its organization?

A No.

Q What was your function in the Stahlhelm?

A At first I was Obergruppenfuehrer, later on I was so-called Battalion Leader, then I was of the Landes Association Hackland, lastly, until the dissolution of the Stahlhelm, I was leader of the Landes Association Bayern which included the Landes Association Bavaria-Hockland, Franken, and Bavarian Ostmark.

Q Who was the Bundes Leader of the Stahlhelm?

A The Stahlhelm had two Bundes leaders, Seldte and Dusterberg.

Q How strong was the Stahlhelm at the time of the seizure of power?

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A Approximately one and one-half million members.

Q What was its structure and give us its individual organization?

A It was organized into the Scharnhorst which included the younger generation up to 16 years of age, the Jungstahlhelm from the 16th to the 22nd year, the Wehr Stahlhelm or rather Sport Formation from the 22nd to the 34th year, then the Hernstahlhelm former front soldiers beginning with the 34th year.

Q What was the constitution of the Stahlhelm?

A The constitution included the two Bundesfuehrer, the Bundesfuehrer council which consisted of the two Bundesfuehrer and a number of Landesfuehrer, and the entire membership meeting of the enture Bund. It was a democratic constitution.

Q What was its purpose and its task?

A The inter-political tasks of the Stahlhelm was to make Germany into what it was before the world war, a mighty strong state. Furthermore the war comradship derived from the war experience, was to extend it within the Stahlhelm and outside of it over the whole German people.

Q What was the attitude of the Stahlhelm toward war?

A Most of the Stahlhelm members had been in the war and experienced the terrors of war, consequesntly they rejected any new war, Consequently I gladly received a declaration of Hitler made on the 23rd of January 1934 before the leader of the Stahlhelm which contained the statement that a generation which has participated in war already could not possibly be expected to participate in a second one.

Q What was the attitude of the Stahlhelm toward the Treaty of Versailles?

A The Stahlhelm considered this treaty a wrong which was done to Germany and by contact with the front fighters of other nations it intended to achieve the cancellation of the Treaty in the form in which it was existing at the time. Every Stahlhelm member considered a cancellation of the Versailles Treaty by use of force if a possibility.

Q Did the Stahlhelm continuously have contacts with foreign front soldiers associations at the time before the out-break of the war?

A Yes. The Stahlhelm was until it was dissolved in November 1935.

Q What associations?

A Contacts were established with French, English and Russian front fighter associations.

Q What was the purpose of these contacts?

A What we wanted was this. The comradeship concept which emanated from the world war among the soldiers of different nations, particularly where business of war was concerned, this comradeship idea was to be propagated among all nations.

Q Wasn't the pacification and friendship among the nations the purpose of this contact?

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A. That would have been the immediate consequence of the cntact between the different fron fighter associations in the different countries.

Q. Did the Stahlhelm have any military activities, fir instance did it give any military training?

A. The Stahlhelm never had any military activities. We leaders of the Stahlhelm who used to be to the greatest part, former officers, knew hot to draw the line between military training and the Wehr sport training which was what members of the Stahlhelm received. Furthermore, the Stahlhelm Bundesfuhrer strongly prohibited several times any military training. I never would have been able to accept the responsibility for my comrades being sent to war with Wehr sport training.

Q. What happened to the Stahlhelm immediately after the seizure of power by the NSDAP? May I ask you a further question: When was the Stahlhelm made subordinate to the Supreme SA leadership?

A. On 27 June 1933, the Stahlhelm was made subordinate to the supreme leadership of the SA, after Seldte had taken over the dictatorial leadership which went against the constitution, at the end of April 1933.

Q. Did Seldte dismiss the second Fuhrer Duesterberg on 27 April 1933, and why did he dismiss him?

A. Duesterberg was dismissed by Seldte becasue her knew, without doubt, that Duesterberg would not agree to the delivery of the Stahlhelm into the hands of the SA and the Party.

W. What was the reaction of the Stahlhelm membership to the association of dictatorial power by Seldte and the dismissal of Duesterberg?

A. The dismissal of Duesterberg brought forth a reaction of immense annoyance and disgust.

Q. How about the assumption of ditatorial powers?

A. The assumption of the dictatorial powers in no way corresponded to the directives oberserved by the Stahlhelm Bund until then.

Q. You stated that previously that the Stahlhelm was made subordinate to the supreme SA leadership on 27 June 1933.

A. Yes.

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Q. Where did these directives, or this order emanate from?

A. The order emanated directly from Hitler.

Q. What was the contents of this order?

A. The Stahlhel, was to be put in its totality under the command of the supreme SA leader, that is to say, it came dictatorily under the SA.

Q. Are you acquainted with another second later order of the same contents?

A. On 4 July after the so-called Reichenhaller leader conference, Hitler issued another order which contained the specific directives signed by Chief of Staff Rahn. This demanded the complete insertion of Jungstahlhelm and Wehrstahlhelm and the sport formation into the SA.

Q. When did the technical transfer of the Wehr Stahlhelm take place in your Landes District?

A. The transfer of the Jungstahlhel, and the Sport Formation took place at the end of September and during October 1933.

Q. Jungstahlhelm and Sport Formation were characterized as Wehr Stahlhelm?

COLONEL GRIFFITH JONES: Let us get this correct. The Jungstahlhelm and the Sports Formation together were called Wehr Stahlhelm?

A. Yes, in the words they were called that.

BY DR. KELFISCH:

Q. And this Wehr Stahlhelm included the members of the Stahlhelm up to which age?

A. Up to the 35th year.

Q. Members of the Stahlhelm and you yourself, in particular, did you approve of this transfer of the Wehr Stahlhelm to the SA?

A. Neither myself nor my comrades enjoyed this transfer. There were violent arguments with the SA Gruppenfuhrer pertaining to the way in which the transfer was handled. Neither myself nor my comrades could do anything against this order.

Q. What were the exterior signs of this transfer?

A. Now the comrades all were in the SA and they couldn't get out of the SA in any way at all except by a very difficult procedure.

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Q. The single members of the Wehr Stahlhelm, were they asked?

A. Not a single member was asked, because he was transferred by order.

Q. Did the Stahlhelm receive a promise that after its transfer it would retain a certain amount of autonomy and certain ones of its leaders?

A. The promise was made that the comrades would retain the autonomy of their formations and that they could remain under their leaders. But that is what my fights with the Gruppenfuhrer were about since he did not want to keep these promises.

Q. Were they also promised permission to remain as members of the Stahlhelm Bund?

A. That promise was made in person. It was a matter of course.

Q. Were these promises kept?

A. By and by these promises were broken again and again.

Q. Dod you know whether the transfer in other Landes Associations of the Wehr Stahlhel, took place in the same way in which it took place in your Landes Association Hockland?

A. Yes I know it quite definitely regarding the Landes Association Fuhrerfonferenz, the Landes Association Bavaria, Ostmark, and Wurttenberg.

Q. I now come to the transfer of the members of the Kernstahlhelm. Are those members of the Stahlhelm over 35?

A. The members of the Stahlhelm from 35 to 45 years of age were put together within the SA as SA Reserve I in November 1933.

Q. Whose order was responsible for that?

A. That was by order of Roehm on the basis of the directives in June and July 1933.

Q. And where did the orders of June and July 1933 you just mentioned emanate from?

A. The original orders came from Hitler.

Q. Was there also an order to from an SA Reserve II?

A. There was supposed to be formed an SA Reserve II consisting of men above 45, but it never got farther than to register them.

Q. Now SA Reserve was transferred into the SA?

A. Yes.

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Q. When was it?

A. By order of Roehm 25 January 1934.

Q. Did you attempt to discuss between Hitler and Roehm which took place at the Kaiserhof on the 22nd or 23rd of January 1934?

A. Yes. It wasn't at the conference, however, it was before the dinner that Roehm and Hitler had a discussion.

Q. Did Roehm report to Hisiter the already concluded transfer of Kernstahlhelm?

A. Yes, Roehm reports Hitler the transfer of the Kernstahlhelm into the SA Reserve I within the SA.

Q. Did a special order of Hitler confirm this transfer?

A. On the 25th of January of the same year, this order was put in writing and also its manner of execution.

Q. Did this order evoke the impression that the Kernstahlhelm already had been transferred into the SA?

A. Yes, the concluded the transfer of the Kernstahlhelm into the SA. The rest was merely formalities by way of written orders.

Q. When did this formal insertion which is what I should like to call it, of the members of the Kernstahlhelm into the SA take place?

A. It took several months; from the end of February until the end of April.

Q. What were the exterior signs of this insertion?

A. In my Landes District Hockland, the order was executed according to the way Roehm had issued it. The members of the SA Reserve I from 35 to 45 years transferred into the SA.

Q. My question was made different. What I wanted to know was whether the members of the Kernstahlhelm were called up for a roll call and that then these people were told: "Now you are transferred".

A. Within my Landes Association there were different ways in which it was hhndled. Certain formations had a kind of an impressive transfer, others merely had a roll call and the order was read, but everybody knew from now on, I am in the SA.

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Q. Was anyone of the members of the Kernstahlhelm asked before whether he approved of the transfer.

A. Truel. I have discussed it with the comrades but nobody could do anything against this order.

Q. Did the comrades approve of this transfer? Did they like this transfer?

A. No one executed this order gladly. The comrades would have preferred to remain in the Stahlhelm.

Q. What was the mental attitude of the members of both the Wehr and and the Kernstahlhelm toward the NSDAP after they were transferred?

A. These transferred comrades, of course, remained set in their secret opposition against the NSDAP and its claim to totality.

Q. Can you testify to that on the basis of your own observations, or on the basis of discussions of certain other members?

A. I can testify to that on the basis of my own observations and also on the observations with a discussion of my comrades and into this war I have retained my connection with the comrades so that I am very well aware of their attitude and morale.

Q. Can you say anything about the Roehm Putsch? What was the attitude of the Sthlhelm group toward the Roehm Putsch?

A. On the afternoon before the actual Roehm Putsch took place in July of 1933 or 1934, I heard from a Stahlhelm comrade who had become a Reichswehr officer, that the SA had assembled at the Oberweisenfeld and that the Reichswehr had been put in a state of alarm from the archives. I immediately drove to the Landesleitung and I ordered a state of alarm for the Stahlhelm Association.

Q. For what purpose?

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A I immediately went to the commander of the Wehrkreis and I reported to him that I had put the Stahlhelm into a state of alarm and that I would put it at his dispesal if necessary.

Q A dispesal against whom?

A Against the SA of course. He expressed his appreciation saying that if necessary he would use it. It wasn't necessary because the Roehm Putsch itself took care of it.

Q Can you confirm the fact that the Stahlhelm people who were transferred were on your side for that purpose at that time?

A I have spoken to my comrades of the Wehr Stahlhelm or of the Reserve I and they all said they would be fighting with me against the SA within the old Stahlhelm organization.

Q Were members of both the Kernstahlhelm and the Wehr Stahlhelm assured that they would be permitted to retain a certain independence within the SA, that they would retain their uniforms and their old leaders?

A The Stahlhelm comrades in the SA Reserve I were supposed to retain a certain autonomy up to the brigade formation, also up to the brigade formation they were to retain their old Fuehrer. That was the reason why the members of the Stahlhelm permitted themselves to be transferred. They said "We will still remain the old Stahlhelm gang and we will even within the SA."

Q Didn't these assurances again show themselves to be defrauded very soon?

A The same game the SA played with the Wehr Stahlhelm, it played also with the SA Reserve I Kernstahlhelm.

Q Do you know anything at all about whether members of the Wehr Stahlhelm or Kernstahlhelm had participated in crimes against the peace, against humanity, especially Jewish persecution and war crimes?

A I have never been aware of anything like that and after the training of the members of the Stahlhelm as a gentleman, something like that could not possibly have happened.

Q Have you been aware of any members of the Stahlhelm having participated in the Jewish pogrom in November 1938?

A I have never heard of it but I am firmly convinced that no member of

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the Stahlhelm had participated in such a thing.

Q Weren't Jews also members of the Stahlhelm either permanently or intermittently?

A If Jews had participated in the world war they could become members in the Stahlhelm without any further ado. The constitution wasn't against it. In my Ortsgruppe I had two or three comrades whose father and mother are Jewish.

Q Wasn't the second German Duestenberg also half or quarter Jew?

A The press wrote about that but we couldn't find out.

Q The members of the Stahlhelm after they were transferred, did they consider themselves as Stahlhelm men or did they consider themselves a foreign aid with the SA?

A The Stahlhelm members never felt themselves to be members of the SA. We the leaders, who did not transfer, did not want to feel themselves as SA men. We wanted them to remain Stahlhelm men.

Q What was the attitude to and how did the SA men themselves treat the members of the Stahlhelm within the SA?

A Mentally, the SA men rejected the members of the Stahlhelm, and as their leader himself told me that he would prefer a communist to any Stahlhelm member.

Q Are you aware that the National Socialist press almost unanimously characterized the Stahlhelm, also those members within the SA, as a gathering place for enemies of the National Socialist system?

A In all the years from 1933, 1934 and 1935, the National Socialist press did that and in 1935 did that for the reason for its dissolution.

Q Do you know of numerous confiscations and arrests in Germany of Stahlhelm members and Stahlhelm formations in the years 1933, 1934 and 1935?

A I am well aware of that. In my Landes Association, as well as in many other Landes Associations, all these things took place.

Q What was the reason for this arrest?

A There were many reasons for these arrests, for instance, if an SA man attempted to get out of the SA he was simply arrested. I know of one member of the Stahlhelm in Nuremberg who again intended to re-organize an

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Ortsgruppe of the Stahlhelm here, and who was excluded from the SA and imprisoned for four weeks.

Q Did you have any similar experiences due to not having gone into the SA?

A When I heard in February 1935 that I was appointed SA Reserve Brigade Leader, I immediately applied for my resignation. I found that I was under police observation, and my telephone was checked, and my mail was read, and my family became excited, and all my acquaintances because they knew the police were watching.

Q Was it possible for Stahlhelm members who were transferred into the SA to resign, or was it definite, and what danger would such a step imply?

A If a member of the Stahlhelm was in the SA it was almost impossible for him to get out of it. Only if he suffered from some severe physical disability could he put in an application for his resignation, otherwise these applications were not dealt with at all; no attention was paid to them; they were simply thrown in the waste paper basket.

MR. TAYLOR: We will recess until 2 o'clock.

(The commission adjourned at 1300 hours.)

DIRECT EXAMINATION - Resumed

Otto Freiherr von Waldenfels - continued

(The Commission reconvened at 1408 hours.)

COMMISSIONER:

Igor Rasumov

****

MR. RASUMOV: Will you please state your name?

THE WITNESS: Otto Freiherr von Waldenfels.

MR. RASUMOV: Sit down, please. Will you continue your examination, Dr. Klefisch?

DIRECT EXAMINATION RESUMED

BY DR. KLEFISCH:

Q You previously stated that applications for resignations could be put in only for very important reasons?

A Yes.

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Q What happened to applications for resignations without such important reasons?

A The applications were thrown in the wastepaper basket.

Q Assuming someone insisted upon his intention to resign, what happened?

A By far in the largest part of cases, the person concerned did not receive an honorable discharge, but was excluded from the SA.

Q And what was the consequence of such exclusion?

A If an SA man, in particular a Stahlhelm member, was excluded from the SA, his personnel record, if he was a civil service employee, showed immediately in all his components that he had been excluded from the SA. He was put under police observation, and such a person couldn't get any sort of important position.

Q Could you say anything about the SA Reserve #1, in later years, having been dissolved, and Stahlhelm members being transferred into the active SA?

A This was a matter of accident, because if his SA Reserve happened to diminish by an accidental factor to such an extent, then it was possible that without any further ado, he could have been put into an active SA-Sturm.

Q Did these Reserve formations continue to exist in some or several districts until the end of the War?

A As far as I have heard some of these Reserve formations existed until the end of the War. Some of them were dissolved after the Roehm Putsch.

Q What were the SA ranks of the Stahlhelm members, who were transferred into the SA?

A On the basis of the agreement, they were supposed to have the same ranks in the SA, which they had in the Stahlhelm; however, in fact generally they received much lower ranks.

Q Assuming that certain Stahlhelm members received higher ranks in the SA; for instance, Standartenfuehrer or Brigadefuehrer. Did they also fulfill the corresponding service functions?

A No, generally the men who were supposed to lead the brigade, as it was provided for originally in my case, I was supposed to become Obersturmbannfuehrer No, in general the situation was thus -- that the Stahlhelm members simply were

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given the rank and no brigade or no standard was actually given to them to lead and they thought we would be satisfied with that?

MR. RASUMOV: What rank did the witness have?

THE WITNESS: I was to become Obersturmbannfuehrer, but I was to lead a brigade. I rejected that.

MR. RASUMOV: What did he reject?

THE WITNESS: To be transferred into the SA and the rank.

Q It may be correct to say that as a rule only the old SA men had the functions of the higher ranks reserved for themselves?

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A With very few exceptions, the higher ranks were given to the SA-Fuehrer, who came from the SA itself. I myself know only of the case of Juettner, Siebel, and Count Pueckler. Those according to my knowledge, were the only Stahlhelm members who had higher ranks and simultaneously fulfilled higher functions.

Q Last question. One witness is alleged to have said that generally the Stahlhelm members joined the SA gladly and voluntarily. What do you say to that?

A If anyone makes a statement like that, it is falsification -- simply falsification. Never did the Stahlhelm members gladly accept the transfer into the SA, because they were members of the Stahlhelm and wished to remain such. I know a young comrade -- young man of 22 -- in Munich who shot himself, because he was desperate, because he was not able to get out of the SA.

MR. RASUMOV: Why didn't they want to be transferred into the SA -- the Stahlhelm?

THE WITNESS: Because training of the Stahlhelm was entirely different from that of the SA. This Stahlhelm, in particular, did not want to know anything about the totality of the SA.

Q There is no doubt that some of them might have gone into the SA gladly -- you won't argue that?

A Quite the contrary. I knew very well that some of the others by reason of certain idealisms of the Party and SA gladly joined the SA. Others, however, there were only a few, expected to better the situation and expected to derive certain advantages from it. I have as former Landes leader of the Stahlhelm not the slightest interest in representing these gentlemen. However, my old comrades in the Stahlhelm, that was a different matter.

Q But you say that by far the greatest part of the Stahlhelm went into the SA under pressure and by compulsion and under deceit?

A Yes.

Q Is that true also of the Wehrstahlhelm?

A It is true of the Werhstahlhelm, as well as of the older members.

DR. KIEFISCH: No further questions.

MR. RASUMOV: Col. Griffith Jones?

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CROSS EXAMINATION

BY LT. COL. GRIFFITH JONES:

Q I just want you to help me so I can be perfectly clear about the structure of the Stahlhelm. We have the Kernstahlhelm, which I understand consisted of war soldiers over 34 years old -- last War soldiers over 34 years old?

A Yes.

Q What was the strength of the Kernstahlhelm when it was taken over by the SA?

A Approximately 450,000.

Q Now that Kernstahlhelm was not part of the Wehrstahlhelm at all?

A No. May I perhaps be permitted to repeat the structure. Jungstahlhelm plus sport formation equal Wehrstahlhelm up to 35th year.

Q What happened to Jungstahlhelm and sport formations after they had reached the age of 35?

A Accordingto the directive they could go back again into the Kernstahlhelm, but if they were in the SA never permitted to get out of there.

Q Now, in addition therefore to the Kernstahlhelm and Wehrstahlhelm there was the Scharnhorst?

A Scharnhorst were the young people who later on were to become Stahlhelm people.

Q Now in 1933, can you tell me the number in the Scharnhorst, the Jungstahlhelm, and the sports formation?

A Of course, I can't give to you exactly for the Scharnhorst, but I should think about half a million -- that's my estimate. There is another half million for the Wehrstahlhelm members who were transferred into the SA.

Q That being the members of the Jungstahlhelm and sports formation?

A Yes, together.

Q Were the members of the sports formation quite separate from the members of the Jungstahlhelm or did they overlap?

A There was a matter of separation by age. The Jungstahlhelm people were up to 22, and they were apprentices in becoming Stahlhelm; whereas, the sports formation people were Stahlhelm men.

Q Now, I want you to tell me about the SA as opposed to the Stahlhelm.

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Were the members of the Stahlhelm opposed to the transfer to the SA partly because they disapproved of the SA as an organization?

A The entire SA organization was found very unsympathetic by the Stahlhelm people. We wanted to be Stahlhelm people and not SA men.

Q Yes. I appreciate that you wanted to remain Stahlhelm, but in addition to that had you any other objections to the SA, either on account of its policy or its behavior or for any other reason?

A That was a part of it. Even before the SA played an important roll, they were against the SA, which always wanted to be a political organization and did not put so much weight on sports and things like that.

Q Were there any particular actions or policies of the SA to which you took objection?

A At that time, no doubt, not yet.

Q When did you take objection to the SA on account of their policies or their actions?

A The Stahlhelm as such not at all any more. I personally, of course, rejected the Jewish problem situation.

Q What part did the SA take in the Jewish problem? What was the part they played to which you objected personally?

A That the SA did not want to have anything to do with the Jews and wanted the Jews to be considered second class.

Q But you said you objected to the policy or actions of the SA in respect to the Jews?

A No doubt the comrades too, who were transferred into the SA, did not approve of such things.

MR. RASUMOV: The prosecution and I would like to know and for you to tell us what were the specific features of the SA, because of which the Stahlhelm was opposed to this. You don't answer directly to the question put by the prosecution.

A In the years 1933 or before.

Q Up until 1934?

MR. RASUMOV: What were the basic features --the most specific features?

A The pure totality which SA party claimed for themselves that only they had the right to call themselves Germans and representing Germany.

Q They were, were they not, and still dealing up to 1934, they behaved generally with considerable violence to anybody who was opposed to them during the years leading up to 1934?

A Yes, no doubt.

Q Was that consistently done and done throughout every district in Germany, throughout those years, violence against anybody who opposed them?

A As far as I've heard, yes. The system was first sweets and then the whip.

MR. RASUHOV: That was a general policy of the SA?

THE WITNESS: Yes.

Q And a general practice of its members?

A Yes, that is the way the Stahlhelm members felt.

MR. RASUHOV: Do you know, witness, many people who got the sweets and the whip?

THE WITNESS: Our Stahlhelm comrades are the example for that. First they got a lot of promises and then the promises were not kept.

MR. RASUHOV: And what about the ship?

THE WITNESS: When they wanted to get out, they were either excluded entirely or not permitted to leave.

Q I want to ask you about after 1934 -- after the Roehm Putsch. Did their practice and policy of violence continue?

A Against the Stahlhelm -- no doubt.

Q Yes. I was dealing against not only the Stahlhelm, but against any opposition to their views within Germany.

A The only important enemy, which after the Roehm Putsch, was still there in Germany, was just the Stahlhelm.

Q There were also the Jews. Did the SA take an active part in the persecution of the Jews after 1934?

A As far as I've been told stories -- yes. I myself saw the looting of shops in Munich, but whether that was done by order or whether it originated with individuals, I cannot say.

Q Can you give me any other examples of violence or looting or any other form of persecution, which you know of, committed by the SA against the Jews after 1934?

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A I cannot at this time recall any case.

Q Would it be right to say that generally speaking throughout those years, after 1934, the SA continued a systematic persecution of Jewish people in Germany?

A I do not wish to say without reservation of the SA. It was a Party as such.

Q And the SA was, as the last witness describes it, an executive branch of the Party. You'll agree with that?

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A That is correct, but after the Roehm Putsch the outstanding significance which it had before, had been lost completely. The people were afraid of the SS, but no longer of the SA.

Q But in their less important roll, did they continue the policy and practice that they had been carrying out before the persecution of the Jews?

A There is no doubt.

Q One other former opposition which the Party had were the churches. Do you know of any incidents of the SA persecuting in any form the churches or members of the churches, or the clergy?

A Myself I cannot recall or observe anything like that while I was present. However, I heard of it - how true it is, I don't know.

Q Now, one further matter I want to ask you about. You yourself were the senior archive councillor in Munich. Is that correct?

A Yes, at that time I was archive councillor.

Q And had you remained as such up until the end of the War?

A In the year 1937, the Bavarian War Archives were taken over as the Army Archives in Munich.

Q Were the positions that you were holding throughout these years up to the end of the year the positions of a civil servant?

A I'm still working as a civil servant.

MR. RASUMOV: What is your position now?

THE WITNESS: Senior archive councillor.

Q And throughout the whole of that time, you never became a member of the Party, and you never became a member of any Party organization?

A No.

Q Do you know of other civil servants who have retained their positions as civil servants without becoming members of the Party or any of its organizations?

A Here and there I know civil servants who worked, and who did not become Party members. In my archive it was too well known that I did not want to enter the Party, and my other comrades did not become Party members.

COLONEL JONES: Thank you.

MR. RASUMOV: No further questions?

COL. JONES: No, sir.

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MR. RASUMOV: Col Orlow?

COL. ORLOW: No questions.

DR. KEEFISCH: Some very few questions.

RE-DIRECT EXAMINATION

BY DR. KLEFISCH:

Q How many members did the Stahlhelm have at the beginning of 1934? May I put the question a little different. How many members did the Stahlhelm have at the time of the seizure of power?

A Approximately a million and a half by estimate.

Q You now said that a half million were taken over by the Hitler Youth who were in the Scharnhorst?

A I did not include Scharnhorst in the million and a half.

Q One and a half million without Scharnhorst?

A Yes.

Q Out of a million and a half, how many came into the SA by way of the Wehrstahlhelm?

A My estimate - 400, to 500,000.

Q So there were one million left. Out of that one million, how many went to the SA Reserve #1 from the Kernstahlhelm?

A On the basis of a report, dated February 1934, 442,000.

Q After February 1934, weren't there a great many of Stahlhelm people put additionally into the SA Reserve #1?

A I do not believe that this figure has been enlarged. Quite the contrary. I should like that not even the whole 442,000 men were transferred.

Q So thatmeans probably that the 442,000 Stahlhelm members were registered?

A Roehm asked for the report of those Stahlhelm members who were transferred into the SA.

Q So there were still approximately a half million members of the Stahlhelm who were not transferred. Were those the Stahlhelm members above 45?

A That is right. There were half a million left over 45, or physically disabled or War wounded.

Q And these older Stahlhelm members - they were not transferred by order into the SA?

A No.

Q One last question. You stated that in your opinion the SA continued to participate in the persecution of the Jews andchurches. Did you want to say that the SA, as an organization or thesupreme leadership or the membership, or only individual members participated in that?

A To begin with, I want to say that this is only my private opinion. It is my opinion that individual SA men have committed accesses, but the great mass consisted of farmers and kind, decant people.

BY LT. COL. GRIFFITH JONES:

I wonder if I could ask one or two questions on these figures, only so that we do get it quite straight, because it wasn't altogether the same when Dr. Klefisch asked him?

DR. KLEFISCH: Yes.

MR. RASUMOV: Yes.

BY COL GRIFFITH JONES:

Q Witness, you told us that the Scharnhorst consisted of a half million.

A Estimate.

Q And they went into the Hitler Youth?

A They were transferred into the Hitler Youth.

DR. KLEFISCH: When?

THE WITNESS: In connection with the order the end of June or July 1933.

Q But they have never had anything to do with the SA?

A No, they never had - only the Hitler Youth.

Q So that we can ignore it?

A They got out altogether.

Q You told us first of allthat the Wehrstahlhelm had a half million, and that the Kornstahlhelm had a half million.

A The SA Reserve #1 had a half million.

Q I'm not talking about the SA Reserve. You did in answer to me a little time ago say that the Wehrstahlhelm were a half million strong, and

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the Kernstahlhelm, well in fact, you gave 450,000 strong.

A SA Reserve#1 was 442,000.

Q That's what I wanted to clear up. So that the position is really this. That out of the Stahlhelm of all kinds you had 442,000 to go into the SA Reserve #1 from the Kernstahlhelm?

A Estimate.

Q And 500,000 from the Wehrstahlhelm into the SA proper?

A Yes.

LT. COL. JONES: Thank you, sir.

MR. RASUMOV: I want to emphasize one more point. You did not answer in a proper way to the prosecution the following question. You told us that everybody knew that your being a civil servant, were not a Party member.

THE WITNESS: In my archive.

MR. RASUMOV: The question is - do you know many persons who have been civil servants and at the same time were not Party members?

THE WITNESS: Not many.

MR. RASUMOV: Now could you tell me what were the consequences if a civil servant did not like to be transferred from the Stahlhelm to the SA?

THE WITNESS: Under certain circumstances, he could lose his position as a civil servant.

MR. RASUMOV: Under [illegible] circumstances?

THE WITNESS: It depended upon his superiors. My superior was a former officer, and he was not a Party member, and naturally no pressure was exerted upon me.

MR. RASUMOV: Was he a member of the Stahlhelm?

THE WITNESS: No.

MR. RASUMOV: Any further questions?

BY DR. KLEFISCH:

May I have only one question. Col. Griffith Jones rightly stressed the figures. We have heard that from the Wehrstahlhelm that 500,000 were transferred into the active SA and from the Kernstahlhelm and from the Kernstahlhelm about 442,000 were transferred into the SA Reserve #1. So there was about a half million left which were not transferred into the SA. Mainly

this half million consisted of the older Stahlhelm people above 45, and there was an order issued for these older Stahlhelm people to be transferred to the SA, so that on the basis of order those who were transferred into the SA were actually transferred then.

MR. RASUMOV: Col. Orlow, have you any questions?

COL. ORLOW: No further questions.

MR. RASUMOV: No further questions. The witnessmay be excused. There being no further witnesses the Commission will adjourn.

Adjourned 1510 hours.

The foregoing is a true and correct transcript of the testimony of OTTO FREIHERR VON WALDENFELS, taken on 17 July 1946.

Marjorie Shumway
Reporter

Bernice Winkler
Reporter

CERTIFIED TO:

Geo. R. Taylor
Commissioner

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